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THE HADHRAMAUT: PRESENT AND FUTURE

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I CONFESS that I have not found it easy to plan what shape this paper should take. I would rather have been able to give you a straightforward account of a single pioneering journey, and if when my wife and I returned to the Hadhramaut on 16 November 1936 things had gone as we had expected, I should have hoped to tell you about a journey made in the time-honoured way by camel from the Hadhramaut eastwards through the Mahra country to the sea beyond Cape Fartak. We left Aden for Mukalla with six weeks allotted us and had hoped to make the journey when the immediate tasks arising out of our previous journey in 1934 had been completed. But our destiny was written otherwise, and though the six weeks spun out into months and though we have now become permanent residents of the Hadhramaut we have not yet found the time or opportunity for our journey. So it happens that I am unable to give you all those fresh first impressions of a new country once visited which are so interesting to those who have to do their travelling as listeners or readers.

It may none the less be interesting to attempt a fuller perspective of the Hadhramaut by describing, with that knowledge which comes from day-to-day familiarity, a country which is still little known from many points of view; and I shall hope, too, to describe occasional excursions over its hitherto unvisited districts.

When I look back over these past eighteen months I am struck by the great contrasts between the Hadhramaut then and now, contrasts which are probably more marked than any other changes the country has seen in its history. Eighteen months ago the Hadhramaut had, it is true, already become one of the better-known regions of Arabia. There had been quite a spate of writing and talking about it and within a short period it had seen quite a number of European visitors, comparatively speaking, for I suppose the total number of Europeans who had seen it since 1843, when Von Wrede went there, was twenty to thirty, of whom all except an odd half-dozen had been there since

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1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

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Harwein, and Heila, entirely by the people themselves, and most of the seventeen landing-grounds in the country are now in frequent use by the Royal Air Force. It is interesting to note that many of these landing-grounds were built on the initiative of the local people, and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed by them at no expense to Government. The Sei'ar, the Badawin 'Awamir in the north and one or two others have asked for landing-grounds to be made so that they may be visited. 508

Hitherto communication with the Hadhramaut has been by irregular calls of ships at Mukalla and Shihr, but now there is a weekly commercial air service maintained by Arabian Airways from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun. There was previously no postal service but now there is a post office at Mukalla and five postal agencies at the principal centres of Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr, and another in contemplation. 509 205 206

Remarkable as these improvements in communication are they do not yet fulfil all the needs of the country, for it is over 60,000 square miles in extent with a population of only about 300,000, of whom perhaps 50,000 dwell on the coastal area and 100,000 in the comparatively fertile wadi lands of the interior, while the rest are Badawin or scattered in more remote settlements where the soil allows the production of a modest living. This wide area, rather larger than England and Wales, has now been all seen, at any rate from the air, though of course not all has been visited on the ground and there are still wide and very desolate areas which have yet to be trodden. 131 161 162

The areas that offer most scope for development and on the development of which the prosperity of the whole country must depend are, of course, the coast and the Wadi Hadhramaut system itself. As in all tropical countries agriculture must be the basis of the modest natural wealth of the country, and the area that offers most scope is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, principally that part of the wadi between Henin and Qa'udha on the west and As Som on the east, with the Wadis Du'an and Leisar, 'Amd, Bin 'Ali, Al 'Ain, Tarba, and 'Adim, running into it from the south. Generally speaking little cultivation is attempted in the wadis from the north. 311

The outlook of the coast, dominated by Mukalla and Shihr, is chiefly commercial and maritime. Those who do not depend on trade go down to the sea either in the dhows or as fishermen, though there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Ghail Ba Wazir. From the development point of view the Hadhramaut is fortunate in possessing a balanced population and one that has shown itself enterprising in the making of money abroad. It is the general belief of responsible local opinion that many of the 100,000 Hadhramis who live abroad will return, now that there is security and the prospect of finding a living in a country which, more than many peoples with the emigrating habit, they always regard as home. In a balanced population there are classes which fit into every phase of the cultural and economic structure of society, and the obvious basis of development will do nothing to upset the existing structure but simply give it extended scope. In areas inhabited only by tribesmen development must be difficult and slow, for there are many occupations 439 226 241 1821 [167]

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in which tribesmen will not willingly engage, and as they are so conservative it will be long before they forsake their ancient occupation (or lack of occupation) and adjust themselves to fresh possibilities.

In the Hadhramaut however if the main producing area is to be the main wadi system, there is there a population which is already largely agriculturally minded. Shibam is chiefly a commercial centre, the principal market of the interior, but outside Shibam and throughout the other towns of the wadi the atmosphere is rural and people are largely land owners or workers on the land. In addition the tribes have become settled and it is interesting to note that most of them have settled in *badu* sections. Those tribes living in the great wadi are settled, but they have relations in the barren areas who are Badawin. If it becomes possible not only to make the country more self-supporting as regards its own food supplies, but also to produce something for export, it will benefit not only the growers but also the Badawin living between the coast and the wadi, for at present they have to take their camels back to the coast unloaded, since the Hadhramaut only consumes. Recently we forwarded samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, to the Imperial Institute for examination and the reports were most favourable. This is not to say, of course, that their cultivation can be profitably undertaken without much further investigation and some experiments, but they are two possible lines of development, and now that an Agricultural Officer is being appointed new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is of course the chief need, but that also we hope to investigate and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it in the areas most fit for agricultural development.

Mukalla is the political and commercial capital of the whole country. Here the Qu'aiti Sultan lives, and it is the headquarters of the Mukalla Government, and my own headquarters as Resident Adviser to His Highness and as the officer responsible to the Governor of the Aden Protectorate for political relations with the five easternmost Sultanates of the Protectorate. Mukalla is the one place that most of the several hundreds of visitors have seen. It is the most important port on the south coast of Arabia between Aden and Muscat, but somehow does not yet seem to have left the category of places which travellers take for granted, perhaps because until my wife and I took up our abode there had never been permanent European residents. In the last few months the European residents have risen to six, and though the place looks very much the same to us as it has always done, visitors say it is changing. A ship's captain who landed a short time ago asked in the bazaar how it was that port facilities had improved and how it was that the town looked cleaner. I believe the most enduring memory of Mukalla to people who have landed has been the stupendous fly population and the smells of dried fish and other even less pleasant substances. I would not go so far as to say that the flies and the smells have disappeared, but a recently trained local sanitary inspector with a corps of sweepers and sanitary dustbins have made some difference.

The climate of Mukalla is on the whole pleasant enough, and with the gradual cleaning up of the town healthy enough. Steps are now being taken to cope with the mosquito nuisance, for last year we had a particularly bad

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epidemic of malaria, the sequel to the heaviest rains the country had had, according to the old inhabitants, for twenty-two years. It was astonishing to see after a few hours of heavy rain how much damage had been done, for rocks and debris were washed down from the cliff behind the town and the main bazaar street cut across in many places by torrents.

Like every seaport Mukalla is thoroughly cosmopolitan and you find in its bazaars representatives of Arabs from all the coastal parts of South Arabia and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, as well as Somalis and other Africans. One curious strain of not infrequent visitors are long-bearded Mongolian pilgrims who flourish incomprehensible Chinese passports at me and, speaking no Arabic or other language which can be understood locally, apparently desire onward travel facilities. There are quite a number of Indian visitors and residents too, including Banian shopkeepers, and in the upper layer of Mukalla society the various races, Indian and Arab, mix quite happily. We all attend each other's parties and the Government servants of Mukalla have started a very good club. Amongst the various festive occasions of the last year or so none was greater of course than the Coronation celebrations. The streets and house-tops were gay with flags and I can remember no more beautiful sight than the illuminations at night. The Palace, the Residency, the Government offices and the principal mosques were outlined in coloured lights, and I should think Mukalla that night burnt almost as much incense as Pliny complains of Nero burning at the funeral of Poppaea. Almost every house that had not coloured lights heaped incense in piles along its roof parapets and the coloured lights and the flaming incense were wonderfully reflected on the waters of the harbour, while clouds of smoke filled the streets with a sweet-scented fog and completely obliterated the smell of the fish. Now of course Mukalla is every night reflected in the water, for electric light has been introduced and the greenish glow of the new street lights is visible far away. At the Sultan's request steps are being taken to reorganize and train his forces and to raise and train forces for the Kathiri Sultan, and thanks to Captain Hopkins who has been in Mukalla for nearly six months the standard is already much higher than formerly.

After four until sunset Mukalla walks abroad, sitting either in the cafés on the water front or wandering out through the western gate and sitting in groups above the camel park and the road which leads to the interior. This is the familiar road which has been trodden and described by most of the older generation of travellers, but I suppose that few Europeans in future are likely to follow it on camel or donkey as we did on our first visit three years ago, for I hope it will not be long before the new motor road is finished. The 20 miles or so which are now completed are really a remarkable achievement, for the road is a mountain road, skilfully built up with stone along the hill-sides and well above the torrent beds. The line was followed and mapped by Captain L. G. Beach, R.E., who in a short visit also fixed the latitude and longitude of Shibam and Tarim, but there has been no expert supervision and the builders, all men from Mukalla, have shown themselves extra-ordinarily skilful.

Nowadays most travellers for the interior go by car, either along the beach to Shihr or, if the beach is not open, along the inland road which

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passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

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we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

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and here we stopped on our first journey up, dispossessing a large band of monkeys. This was the first time I had seen them so far east, though we have often seen them north of Aden. As a matter of fact, one rarely meets mammals apart from gazelles and foxes in the Hadhramaut, though lately I was offered a hyena pup in Tarim, and there are wolves, ibex, and oryx. Others prefer for lunch at Reida a house not far away, where if you give an order in advance you can obtain quite well-boiled rice and boiled meat. Our superior friends in the Hadhramaut have named the place Shepheards, principally I think because you are always overcharged there. The first time we passed through the village somebody asked my wife for medicine and was given Epsom Salts. Crowds then came out and stretched forth supplicating hands which were all filled and in this way a pound or two was distributed, but there has never been any ill-feeling about it and relations with the tribe have been uniformly friendly. They have a large tree which is known as the Sanctuary, and under it all the important tribal conferences are held. Here I sat with the elders on a subsequent visit and they signed the general Hadhramaut three-years' truce.

A little beyond Reida you pass into Kathiri territory belonging to the Al Jabir, and the road passes near Risib, where there is a landing-ground. The people of Risib have had a very bad reputation for caravan looting and holding up cars; indeed they fired on cars before ever we came into the country. They were punished for an offence of this nature and are now genuinely among our best friends. My wife and I have stayed with them at their invitation and they entertained us lavishly in their simple way. They told me that they had always believed themselves to be under the protection of the Sultan of Turkey; now their only request is to be helped to find water, and I very much hope that before long it will be possible to help them, as they depend entirely on rain-water and when their pools dry up they have to leave their homes and wander away with their stock elsewhere.

The last sign of permanent life on this road is a little beyond Risib at Heru, where there are a few Sheikhs who have some popular water-holes which last longer than most others on the road and are generally much surrounded with stock. It was a wonderful sight near Heru last year after the heavy rains to see the shallow wadi green from side to side, winding away in each direction apparently fully cultivated. The people never cease to talk of the blessing of peace through which they are able to cultivate far more than they were before, and those heavy rains are universally attributed to the mercy of God manifested as a reward for the peace.

From Heru to Tarim takes four hours and the road is absolutely desolate. Caravans follow a wadi route into the Wadi 'Adim where there is water, for there is not a drop to be had on the route that the cars have to follow, and of course it is usually on this part of the road that one has breakdowns.

I arrived at Tarim at 8.15 in the morning. The *'aqaba* leading down to Tarim is one of the most remarkable engineering constructions in the world. People who know say that no European engineer would attempt it. It consists principally of hairpin bends which you have to reverse to get round, and parts of it have gradients of about 1 in 3 or 4. If you fire a rifle at the top of the *'aqaba* it lets Tarim know you are coming and the whole place troops OUT TO MEET YOU.

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out to meet you. Many people prefer to walk down the *'aqaba*, and in any case the drivers stop at the top to tie up the brakes. I have only walked down once, and that was on the morning of the New Year. I sat for a short time at the top and it really was a most beautiful sight watching the day break over the minarets and white houses of Tarim. 600

"Tarim and thou desirest no more" is a local saying, and in truth I know of no happier places to live in than Tarim and Seiyun. I shall never forget our first impressions of Tarim nor I think does anybody else forget his, but the charm of these places grows with knowledge and they have a hospitable and cultured society. There is little literary learning in Mukalla or Shihr: Mukalla can be difficult to live in, but Shihr is always friendly and welcoming. Seiyun and Tarim are not only that, but can talk of affairs, of history, and of philosophy. The whole country is full of poets, and not only quotes the old poets but records constantly current history in *qasidas*, and that is how much of it survives. At a Shabwani dance the poets assemble and in turn compose extempore couplets, which are repeated by the choir leaders and taken up by a hundred throats. 212 538

Tarim and its rich suburb of 'Aidid, where there are several beautiful Riviera villas, are of course under Kathiri rule, but they and the small village of Al Ghuraf are in Tamimi country. One interesting fact about Tarim that I have learnt recently is that it contains a state within its walls. This enclosure, which contains a few houses inhabited by the Seiyids of Al Haddad, is ruled by their *mansab* under some ancient right. His subjects are completely under his jurisdiction, and even if they commit offences in the city of Tarim are not tried by the Sultan but handed over to him. The intelligentsia of Tarim call him the *Baba* (the Pope) and his state the *Fatikana*. Tarim and Seiyun both have old religious academies (*Rubats*) to which students come from considerable distances in the west of the Protectorate and from the Yemen. I remember when I first passed the Tarim Rubat a long time ago there was a rush to exclude the contaminating influence, and all the doors and window shutters were hastily banged. Life gets more pleasant when crowds of children and adult hangers on cease to follow you shouting *Nasrani* (Christian). When I returned to Mukalla from the interior in March 1937 one small boy did shout Nasrani, but was immediately corrected by a friend who said "*That's* not a Nasrani, that's Ingrams." 631 [361] 874 609

The Tamimis, who stretch several miles on the way to Seiyun, and down the Wadi Maseila to below Qasm, the Tamimi capital, are a Qu'aiti tribe, so that Tarim and Al Ghuraf form islands in their territory. There are no Badu sections to the Tamimis, and they all live in the wadi and emigrate largely to East Africa and the East Indies. They are however an astonishingly disunited tribe whose sections were constantly warring against each other, mostly over land questions. In this way they are a great contrast to their neighbours, the Manahil, who belong to the same Confederation, the Beni Dhanna. The Manahil are all Badus but are completely united in following their young chief 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. I thought at first that the Manahil were not going to join in the truce, but after holding back for a little while they came and signed, and have never caused the slightest trouble, though 'Aidha had considerable difficulty in restraining 619 [467]

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them from retaliation on the Sei'ar, the traditional enemies of most of the Hadhramaut.

The men of the Manahil, Mahra, and those distant sections of the Kathiri who live up amongst the Mahra on the confines of the desert, take their mothers' names and not their fathers. Ordinarily of course Arabs call themselves Hassan bin Muhammad for example, but these people say Hassan bin Maryam. The Manahil and the Hamumi and some of the other tribes are almost exclusively monogamous and the women, who in some parts are not veiled, are extraordinarily free. A man proposes marriage to the woman direct, and her father will say it is not his concern. Bride price is very high, but the bride brings a lot of stock with her.

I have not journeyed far down the Wadi Maseila on the ground during the last tour, though I had been invited to attend the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Hud. However as I had not the time to go Seiyid Bubekr took me on the first aerial pilgrimage, as he called it, and the beautiful tomb in its picturesque surroundings crowded with a record pilgrimage presented a great contrast to the last time my wife and I had seen it, out of season when we were travelling down the wadi to Seihut. I noticed on this occasion the ruins of an ancient town on the very edge of the *jol* above 'Einat, and I think these are about the only ruins there are in such a situation in the Hadhramaut.

There is perhaps no need to say more of the big towns of the wadi, Tarim, Seiyun, and Shibam, or of the fertile lands between them now happily all at peace. The famous trench system of Al Ghurfa is now disused and the town is open to traffic, so that cars no longer have to skirt perilously round its walls. The whole place has been green with crops, a record millet crop last year and a record barley crop which was being harvested when I left in April.

Seiyun has changed in some ways, for like Tarim it has a new landing-ground used not only by the Royal Air Force but by civil machines, and in the town itself I have an office—for I am also Resident Adviser to the Kathiri Sultan—and there is a newly uniformed body called the Kathiri Armed Constabulary recruited mainly from the Sultan's slaves. I think it is generally known now that these so-called slaves are in fact much more independent than many free men, but it may not be so well known that with the full agreement and co-operation of the Sultans steps have been taken to grant freedom to any slave who desires it. The camel park has been moved from beneath the palace and there preparations are being made to lay out a small garden surrounded by the arcade in which are the police station, the post office, and a small dispensary.

Seiyid Bubekr's house which was being built when we first visited Seiyun three years ago is now finished. Its architecture is, I think I may say, not approved of by Miss Stark, as she no doubt will tell you, but it is a remarkably comfortable house, and when the family is living there a very happy house to stay in; but for some months Seiyid Bubekr's family has preferred to live in another big house of the old-fashioned kind in the town. Living in the empty Dar es Salaam, as it is called, gave me so much the feeling that my wife and I once had when we spent a day or two as the only guests in an enormous hotel in Belgium out of season that I prefer to live in the other house with Seiyid Bubekr. Many are the people who have enjoyed his kindly

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hospitality in the new house during the past year, and last hot weather nothing was more delightful than to sit in the swimming pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B.B.C. Empire Orchestra. Since then the Arabic broadcasts have started and they are extremely popular throughout the Hadhramaut, which now sets its watches by Big Ben. Bathing over, dinner would be laid on carpets by the side of the bathing pool. One rarely sits down less than twenty at meals in Seiyid Bubekr's house and very often it is forty. The average daily consumption runs into about 30 to 40 lb. of rice, three or four dozen eggs, half a dozen chickens, and one or two sheep, and several pounds of vegetables. We went up for the wedding of his daughter, and then over five thousand people were fed for three days.

Seiyun has been our principal headquarters in the wadi, and from it I have continually visited all the neighbouring places, staying at Shibam, Al Qatn, Henin, Qa'udha, and Hureidha. You never get to Hureidha without stopping for a meal at Diyar al Buqri, where the people are so hospitable that they have been known to fire on those who have attempted to pass in cars without stopping to have a meal. The Buqri are Nahd, and although they are settled they are still rather Badu. On my first visit they offered us a large house if we would but stay and rule the country, and it was then I learned that they had imported a first-class cook from Java in the hope of being able to entertain Europeans. Great as is the hospitality and kindness of all the Nahd, the meals at Diyar al Buqri are as fine and as varied as anything you could get anywhere. Their ideas even of afternoon tea are on the most lavish scale. I have had it with them three times and on each occasion they have produced cakes, honey, and halwa, several varieties of tinned fruit, British biscuits, and super-cream toffees.

Beyond Diyar al Buqri, as you enter the Wadi 'Amd, stands a little fort with a sentry for ever gazing out. It was some time before I discovered that the sentry was a dummy, a lump of clay artistically draped with a black cloth, but in recent months I notice he has fallen into disrepair. The Nahd extend down into the Wadi 'Amd almost as far as Hureidha, of which the population consists entirely of Seiyids of the Al 'Attas family and their dependants. Here, too, I have several times stayed, and there is now a landing-ground. There is no need for me to say much about Hureidha as it is here that Miss Stark, Miss Caton-Thompson and Miss Gardner have been wintering. One interesting fact about Hureidha may however be too trivial for their notice, and that is that one of the mosques has two large town clocks, one with a face 6 feet in diameter and the other 3 feet. Only the latter works, and they are of course at the top of the high minaret. But they are inside the minaret, and you have to walk up sixty or seventy steps to see the time.

Up the wadi from Hureidha is the Ja'da tribe. I have not travelled farther up the wadi than Hureidha on foot, but before I went there for peace negotiations my wife did the journey on camel. The wadi is thickly populated and has numerous small villages which at that time were nearly all at war with each other. My wife took down particulars of thirty-two major feuds going on between sections and even between houses a few yards apart. There were trench systems, similar to those at Qa'udha, leading from the houses to the fields, but owing to the disturbed conditions cultivation had suffered badly

AND THERE WAS A GENERAL DESIRE FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO GET ON WITH THE WORK IN THE FIELDS.

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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Armoured car near Al Ghurfa

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Trenches at Al Ghurfa [FACING P. 300 (A)]

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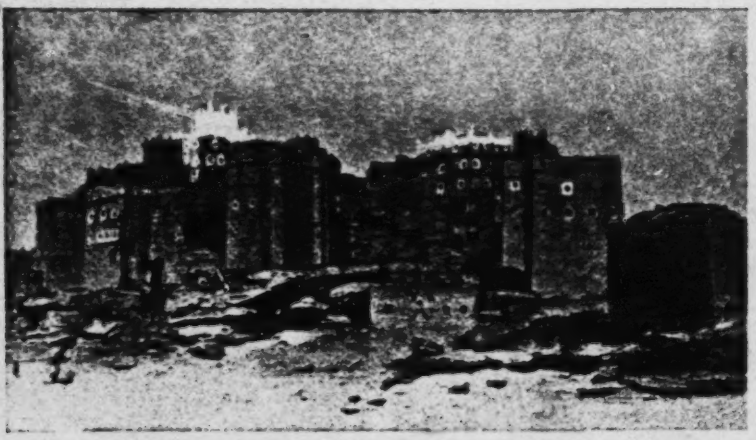

'Azzan, capital of the sultanate of Balhaf

The 'aqaba for motors at Tarim

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settled here for several centuries, for as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century Bedr Bu Tuweirak, the well-known Sultan of the Kathiris, whose chain armour and shield has recently been found by the Kathiri Sultan in the palace at Seiyun, imported Yafa'is together with Zeidis from the Yemen and Turks as mercenaries. In course of time the Qu'aiti dynasty arose from these mercenaries and became the principal power in the country. So long have they been settled here that they are now genuine Hadhramis, and like the rest of the Hadhrami tribes are strongly in favour of the present peaceful arrangements. These settled Yafa'is are known as Thelud to distinguish them from the Gharib, the foreign Yafa'is, who still come from the Yafa' mountains in the western part of the Protectorate and serve a while as soldiers. It is among these latter Yafa'is that those who oppose the peace are found; for they are great usurers and have for long made a living from oppression of the poorer classes; and they realize that with the establishment of good order and justice they will not have the same chances in the future.

Al Qatn is about the farthest west that there is extensive cultivation, and it was a marvellous sight last May to see the whole width of the wide wadi green from side to side. Beyond the Yafa'is westward are the Nahd who extend practically to Al 'Abr. They live entirely in the wadi and in the eastern part of their territory are settled; and in the western, where there is little but sand, are Badus keeping flocks. Their capital is Qa'udha where lives Hakim Mbaruk, the very fine old chief with a wide and enviable reputation for dispensing real justice. The Nahd are a well-built tribe and the elders, of whom there are many, have enormous bellies and resonant voices. From the Nahd we have recruited fine young men for the Qu'aiti Sultan's new camel-lancer bodyguard, and very well they look in their scarlet and blue uniforms. I shall never forget the day when the Nahd signed the peace treaty. They had lived in trenches and imprisoned in their houses for years and they all came out at once and there were many reunions.

North of the Nahd in the steppes between the wadi and the Rub' al Khali is the country of the Sei'ar tribe. We travelled into their territory in 1934 and at the beginning of 1937 when I was travelling round obtaining signatories to the peace treaty, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking "And the Sei'ar?" I do not think there was a single tribe in the Hadhramaut among whom the Sei'ar had not looted or killed, and their reputation is generally bad throughout Southern Arabia, for they are cowardly folk and are fonder of stealing by night and murdering by treachery than by taking and killing in fair fight. Some of the Sei'ar signed the truce straight away, but others later on in the year looted over forty camels from the Manahil, and public opinion demanded that something should be done about it. Arising out of this matter the whole of the Sei'ar country was explored from the air and by this means we were able in three or four reconnaissances to discover the lay-out of their country and incidentally to examine the northern limit of the steppe and the desert.

I accompanied all these reconnaissances, of which the first were made in October last year. So that we might have something we knew to start with, we followed first of all the route which my wife and I had taken before. From

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Shibam to the entrance of the Wadi Ser took us three minutes; this journey had taken us exactly two hours on camels, and twenty minutes by car. After sighting the tomb of the Prophet Salih in the Wadi Khonab we turned into the Wadi Ser and at the mouth of the Wadi Latakh I recognized the Bents' Himyaritic caravan signpost. Then we went up the Wadi Sodaf and from Qa' al Fadhul on the *jol* at its head took directions previously given to me by Badawins for Ba Rumeidan, which we found. This is the residence of Tannaf, the principal chief of the Al Baqi Msellem of the Sei'ar. From the air I saw plainly that just before Qa' al Fadhul we were over the northern watershed, from which deep-cut short wadis run south-south-west to the Hadhramaut, and long shallow ones in an east-north-easterly direction to the sands. There was very little habitation over this part of the country, and most of the inhabitants live in caves. After just over forty minutes' flying from Shibam we found ourselves between two short wadis running out into a broad channel of sand which it took us two minutes to cross, and beyond it was a broken mass of rock stretching away to the north-east. The channel itself ran out into the desert just west of the course of the flight, and the distance from Shibam to this point is calcuated at 69 miles. The visibility was perfect. Air Commodore McClaughry, who was with the flight, noted the high mass of the Seiban mountains at least 100 miles away to the south, so that one could also see at least that distance to the north. An unbroken sea of sand stretched wave on wave far away to the horizon. Looking north it was the most remarkable rosy red colour, quite unforgettable and quite unbelievable if an attempt were made to paint it. It was about three-quarters of an hour short of noon local time, so that the colour owed nothing to early morning light. After a few minutes over the desert, which seemed all too short, we came back to Shibam a bit to the west of Wadi Qubhudh.

Next morning we left Seiyun at a quarter to nine on an almost due northerly course. On this outward flight the same facts were observed, deep short ravines running nearly south to the Hadhramaut, and past the paler coloured *jols* of the watershed more shallow wadis running almost east-north-easterly to the sands. In the upper reaches of the southern system we saw a few poor settlements of the 'Awamir and a caravan of some fifty camels plodding its way southward. The whole *jol* from west to east is heavily scored with well-marked tracks, and it is worth noting, as I have also noted on aeroplane journeys over the Wadi Maseila, that east of our course and some 50 miles north of the wadi as it goes towards Qabr Hud there is a considerable rise in the ground, almost a range of mountains. This is probably the Jebel al Wuti of Von Wissmann's map.

After exactly an hour and a quarter's flying we passed over the edge of the steppe and the desert, just by a conspicuous large white patch of sand, the distance from Seiyun being calculated at 112 miles. Again there was the same wonderful sight of endless rosy waves of sand, though when we were directly over the sand I noticed that it was a rich ochre. Just west of the white patch a channel of desert sand opened into the steppe. This proved to be the eastern end of yesterday's channel, separating a long broken up island *jol* from the mainland. Its situation and shape were sufficiently like Madagascar for us to call it that, and the name seems to have stuck in local usage. The flight

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EASTERN ADEN PE

"THE HADHRAMAUT: PRESENT

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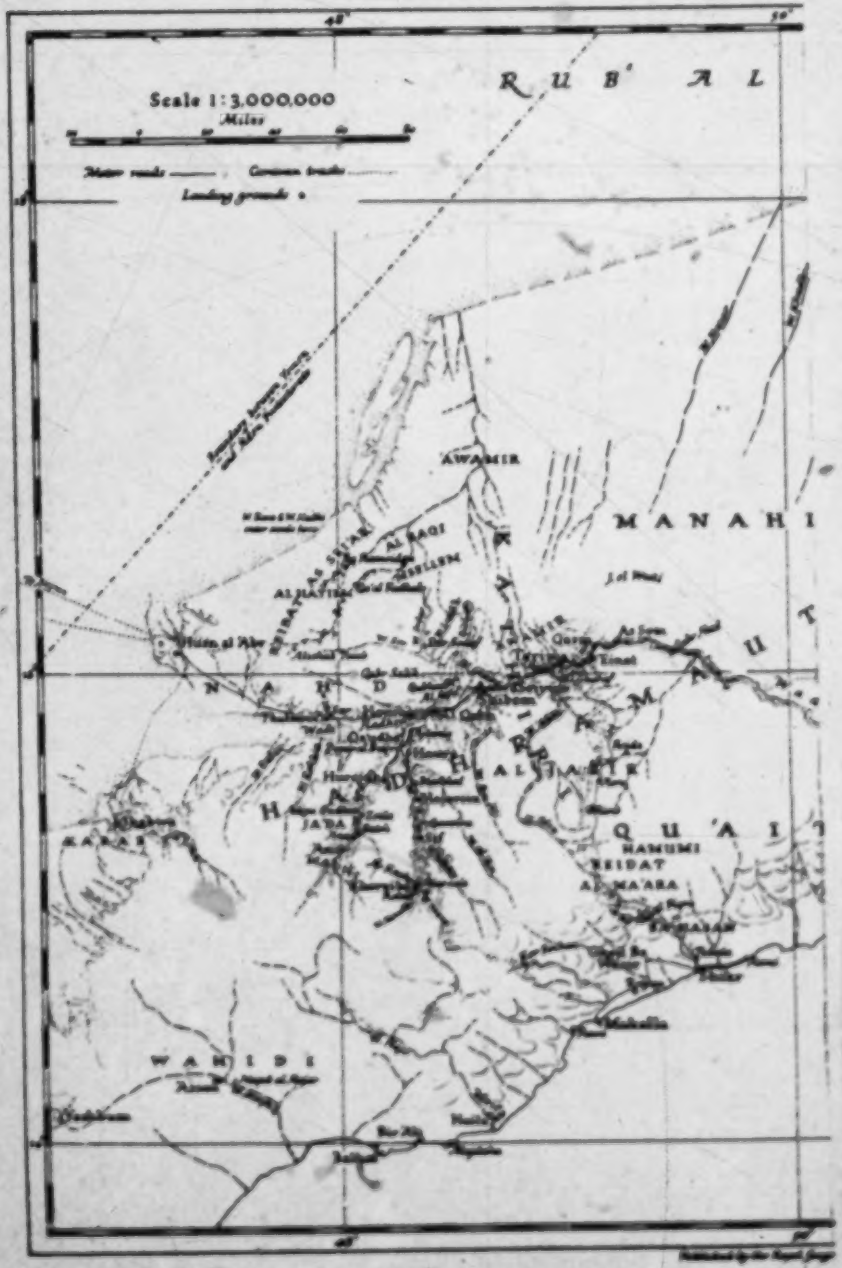

[FACING P. 302 (A)]

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ENT & FUTURE" by Mr. W. H. Ingrams

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HADHRAMAUT

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coasted westwards along the line just dividing the desert from the steppe; where the larger wadis run out into the sand there were wide stretches of scattered vegetation which made the land look as if there was a green scum on it.

At the western end of the "island," much broken with gulfs and with small islands lying off it in the desert, the flight turned to the south-west, a little to the west of the point which had been reached on the previous day's reconnaissance, and explored the western part of the Sei'ar country, the territory of the Al Hatim of which Bin Jerbu'a and Bin Mulhi are the chiefs. This is the heart of Reidat as Sei'ar, and turned out to be surprisingly thickly populated and cultivated. On almost every bank of the wadis were villages consisting of the usual type of Hadhrami Badawin conglomerate *dars*, with a tall tower in the centre, and small contiguous quarters, each called a *Beit*, clustered round it. Subsequent flights made this country very familiar, and with the aid of a Sei'ar, one of the most intelligent Badawin guides, I was able to identify almost all these *dars*. On several occasions we flew beyond Reidat as Sei'ar over uninhabited steppe to Husn Al 'Abr, seeing on clear days Shabwa away in the distance.

These reconnaissances seemed to us very interesting, not only politically but geographically, for the watershed and the fall of the land, steep towards the Hadhramaut and gradual towards the sands, were clearly visible. Up on this watershed I recorded altitudes of 3600, while 300 miles to the east Mr. Thomas states that the altitude remained fairly constant at about 950 feet. This northern steppe is bounded on three sides by sand and has cliff-walls all round it, highest on the wadi side and lowest on the northern or desert side. At a conservative estimate in some 20 square miles there are not less than fifty to sixty Sei'ar villages which have scarcely even been visited by Arabs other than the Sei'ar and the Al Ishaq Sheikhs who live among them.

Some time after these reconnaissances my wife and I visited Al 'Abr on the ground, though she in fact went rather farther and drove some 20 miles towards Shabwa, a day and a half's camel ride from Al 'Abr. We have thus seen the whole of the Wadi Hadhramaut from its source to the sea, and the more you see of it the more extraordinary it is, for it must be at least 40 miles from its northern or left to its southern or right banks at Al 'Abr. This of course narrows very rapidly to 4 miles or so at Henin. It was from Henin that Seiyid Bubekr and I set out for Al 'Abr, following for a start the tracks which Dr. Pike, on a geological survey, had made in that direction. The tracks made by Mr. Philby had of course disappeared.

Our object was to obtain the looted camels of the Manahils, held by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun of the Sei'ar at Al 'Abr. We had with us the fifteen slave soldiers of the Qu'aiti Regular Army who were to be installed there as a garrison, and as we did not want the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to abscond into the desert with the camels, we had kept our movements secret. Seiyid Bubekr said his sunset prayers at Henin. The lorries had gone ahead and had made very slow progress as they had had heavy sand to negotiate. It was difficult finding the way in the dark, but we caught them up at half-past eight, and all of us sat down to dine together, just near the village of Sur and under the two mountains called Thalmein which form a conspicuous landmark from the air for a radius of 70 or 80 miles around. This was 27 miles from Henin,

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and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries, which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way; but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of the sand.

After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind. We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut, and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great profusion. There was also a new wali's tomb decorated with ibex horns, and one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its holy occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

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WE PUT THE GARRISON INTO THE

grass hut, as the *murabba'a* was occupied by a woman who had been bitten by a snake and the Sheikh asked us not to disturb her: it was part of her treatment that she should not be seen. A thin trail of ash had been sprinkled round the building to keep other snakes away.

During the day we collected other 'Abdulla bin 'Aun who came and watched us from a distance in little groups. Somehow they seemed to be fascinated by us, for although they would not come when we shouted to them, they made no attempt to move or to resist when we walked over to them and told them to come along with us. Few of them were armed, and neither were we until the garrison came along. There were a couple of wells in commission, and I was told that at one time there had been as many as eighty-one. Some of the Badawin showed us on the wall of a cliff little columns of holes bored in soft stone. You counted up the holes and then stepping that number of paces from the column found yourself on a buried well.

Having explored the neighbourhood of the fort we went to see the site for a landing-ground which had been previously decided on from the air. Unfortunately it had to be at some little distance from the fort—2 or 3 miles—but it was a marvellous landing-ground and greatly pleased the Royal Air Force when they came along later in the day and flew Seiyid Bubekr and myself back to Seiyun.

On later visits I had the opportunity of seeing all the surrounding country from the air, and I was struck by the truth of the saying that Al 'Abr is the "Key of the Hadhramaut," for behind the mountains tracks radiated out in all directions to Nejran, the Yemen, and Shabwa and the Western Aden Protectorate. From Al 'Abr eastwards there was only the one track. I have visited Al 'Abr five times on the ground and passed over it many times by air, and on each occasion I have been struck by the large number of caravans which halt there for water. For a week or two after our occupation there was some falling off, as the Badawin were not certain of our intentions, but now it seems that far more come than before; they have a sense of security which was previously lacking when the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were constantly looting them. My own belief, which is shared by responsible opinion in the Hadhramaut, is that before long a town will spring up there, as it forms an ideal place for a market and there is plenty of good water. The wells are not much more than 20 feet deep, cut through the soft limestone, and as soon as you draw the water out it runs in again in such a way as to give you the impression that there must be an underground river. On the first visit I took there a party of skilled builders from Tarim and they set to work at once to rebuild the fort. They also opened another well or two, and if we can find the money we shall open more, for these increased facilities are much appreciated by the Badawin.

Amongst the visitors who come are a large number of women. Thereabouts they are unveiled and talk fearlessly and freely with you. I found these girls very charming and full of courage. They thought nothing of journeys alone with camels across the desert, from the Jof for instance, and it is the women throughout the Hadhramaut who appreciate the peace more than any one. They have often said that in the old days they always lived in fear that when their menfolk parted from them they might not see them again.

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000 Another thing I have noticed from the air all around Al 'Abr are those rows of small heaps of stone often with a large circle of stones at the end of them. These we had found up in the Sei'ar country in 1934 and had been told they were the work of the men of 'Ad. In the Sei'ar country there were always round them plenty of flint implements, and my wife, who on her visit to Al 'Abr was able to explore more of the neighbourhood on the ground, found flint implements in plenty at Al 'Abr. It would be interesting to know what these lines of stones were. It may be remembered that Mr. Bertram Thomas found them also in the Mahra country when starting on his journey across the Rub' al Khali. Most of the *jols* and some of the valley places in the Hadhramaut have flint implements on them, and Miss Caton-Thompson has found a great many.

Politically Al 'Abr is a most useful place, as it enables one to keep easy touch with our own Badawin tribes such as the Nahd, Sei'ar, Kerbi, and Al Bureik, and enables us to make friendly contacts with our neighbours such as the Daham and 'Abida. These latter have asked us to extend peaceful arrangements to them, but we can only reply that they must apply to the Imam of the Yemen.

South of the Sei'ar country across the Wadi Hadhramaut are three other wadis, the 'Irma, Duhr, and Rakhia, with the tribes of which I have as yet only exchanged letters. Single-handed it has been too difficult to do much for them, though they are continually writing of raids in which large numbers of goats and some women have been looted and some men killed. I have seen their country from the air, but Wadi Rakhia is the only one which is at all closely populated and cultivated. South of them again, towards the Wahidi country, are a number of tribes whose country I have not seen even from the air, but who practically all have signed the truce and from whom representatives come to visit me in Seiyun or Mukalla.

In this survey there remains of Qu'aiti and Kathiri territory, the Hadhramaut States, only the Du'an area which I have not had the time to visit more than twice during the past tour, as the roads are not yet completed. You appreciate from the air how closely these deep narrow clefts of Leisar and Du'an are cultivated, for they form brilliant slashes of green in the brown of the surrounding *jols*. My last visit was a day or two before I left, when I was taking Mr. Figgis, my new assistant, round the country to introduce him. We arrived unexpected at Du'an as our letters had been delayed, and as we climbed down the familiar '*aqaba* the sunset call to prayer echoed round the wadi from a dozen minarets.

We stayed again in the Arabian Nights' palace of the Ba Surra brothers, surrounded by the wonderful carving and decoration of their guest house. Each time I see it I am more struck with it, and this time I was tempted to place an order for a complete set of doors, windows, cupboards, pillars, and ceiling for a room. The total cost is estimated at only 800 dollars, rather less than £60, and now I am faced with the problem of building a house somewhere to put it in. The carpenters are tribesmen and, as one would expect, their art is hereditary. They are proud of the fact that they are descended straight from Kinda.

We spent a week-end with the Ba Surras, and after a very large Sunday

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Hamumi tribesmen at Shihr

Crossbows in Wadi 'Amd

Wahidi tribesmen at 'Azzan

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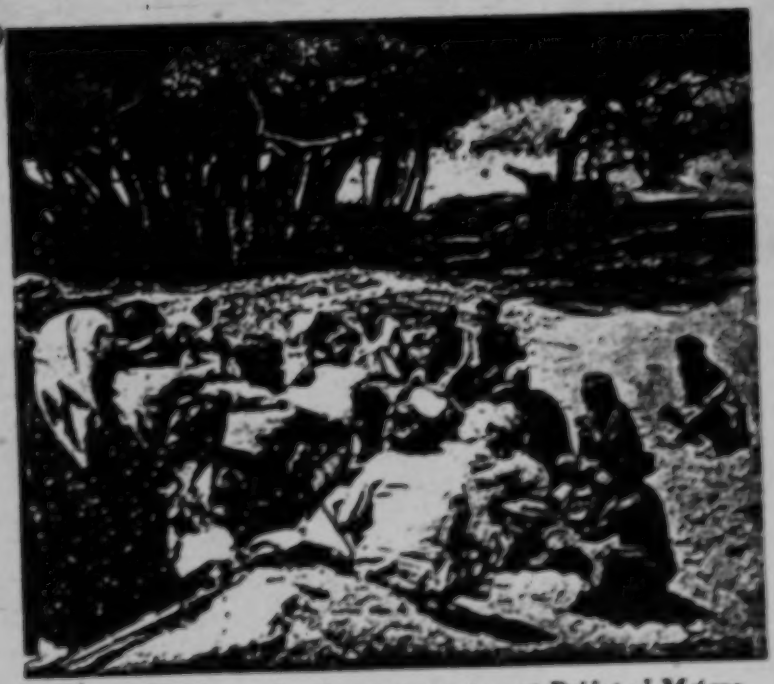

A peace meeting under the sanctuary tree at Reidat al Ma'are

Surrender at Seiyun of the Bin Yamani section from Rind

[FACING P. 304 (B)]

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lunch, also in true Arabian Nights' style, as we had lamb stuffed with pistachio nuts, almonds, and raisins, and many other good things, we started off for a round of afternoon calls. Many old friends had come to see us and all wanted us to visit them. However we managed to weed them down to four and thought we would take the farthest first, so we went off through the date palms to Robat where we had an enormous tea, and then came back through Khoreiba, where we had two more and a fourth, just after sunset, at Ar Rashid. Then we staggered back for dinner to Masna'a, Mr. Figgis rather under the weather and wondering how he was going to cope with Hadhrami hospitality after the more modest repasts of Northern Nigeria.

My wife re-visited Du'an at the beginning of 1937, journeying up the well-known caravan road from Mukalla. She travelled with two Seiyids of the Mihdhar family returning to their homes after a long absence, and they took seven days on donkeys from the coast to Wadi Du'an. The nights were spent in the *marabba'a* and towards sunset each evening they raced with an old shepherd taking a flock of Somaliland sheep over the *jols* to Du'an, for he was determined that his sheep should sleep in the stone hut and the Seiyids were equally determined that my wife and they should. There was always a long midday halt for about eleven o'clock the Seiyids felt they needed their ginger coffee, and it was after noon before the large meal of rice and dried fish was ready.

Except for the preparation of two large meals a day everything was very simple. The Seiyids each had a folding iron camp bed and the Badawin, two of whom acted as chief cook and butler-valet, usually slept curled up underneath the beds. The Seiyids had put on clean clothes at the beginning of the journey, and these they wore night and day until they reached the top of the *'aqaba* leading to Du'an, when they unpacked their boxes and put on new clothes to arrive in. Crowds quickly came from their homes to meet them, and from the Ba Surra's house to meet my wife. She spent two nights with the ladies in Masna'a, who were very anxious to know all about Miss Stark, and if she had quite recovered from the illness that attacked her in Du'an. My wife also visited Robat and Khoreiba, and had tea in one house and spent the night in another house in which a crowd of self-invited guests gathered after dinner to hear the wireless, at that time the only set in the wadi. The reception was not too good, but they heard Big Ben and switched from Egypt to Rome, from Palestine to Germany, and back to London.

With the usual Du'an hospitality she was given two breakfasts in different houses, visited many women, and returned to Masna'a for a gay evening party with drums and dancing in the harem. She left Masna'a for Quweira, where she stayed with the Mihdhar family, whose stronghold it is. This clan of Seiyids is very large but firmly united under its chief, Seiyid Mustafa, a very old man who was amazingly ignorant of any matters outside his valley and had never before descended to shaking hands with a European woman. He had evidently seen pictures of them however for he frankly expressed his approval of my wife's dress, which had long sleeves and was not cut short above the knees as he had imagined it would be. She quite lost count of the number of houses she visited in Quweira, and in all of which she was taken straight up to see the women. It is a curiosity of Du'an that all the women dress

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IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS
alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like

that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

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monsoon." Perhaps now that I have visited Hauwein this ambition is nearer fulfilment for I do not think the inhabitants would have any objection.

Flying back from Qishn on one occasion we flew inland a good deal and it was most interesting to see some of the Mahra villages of the interior, as they were quite different from anything I had seen before. They were surrounded by thick low walls perhaps between 4 and 5 feet high and 3 feet thick. These walls not only surrounded the villages but their fields as well. It seemed to me that they said very little for security in the Mahra country. We crossed over the Wadi Maseila about half-way up it and its great deep gorge was most impressive from the air.

I hope I have succeeded in giving some idea of this fascinating country in which my lot is for the present cast, and in reaching which I have achieved a desire now fifteen years old. There is still much to be done in the Hadhramaut, but I think it is mainly by specialist surveys that we can help the people to make the most of it. Something has already been done in this direction, for in 1935 Dr. Storm of Bahrein made a leprosy survey, and at the same time Mr. Maxwell Darling investigated the locust question. This last winter we have been fortunate in having two very able American geologists, Dr. Pike and Mr. Wofford, who covered an incredible area on the ground and the whole country by air. It is hoped that most useful additions to the map will result from their work. It was good to have them there, for not only did they thoroughly enjoy the country but the country has thoroughly enjoyed them.

In the last couple of months Mr. V. L. Griffiths, Principal of Bakht er Ruda College in the Sudan, has travelled through the country and made a survey of the present educational resources and future needs. I believe his report will be of great value to us in this all-important matter. Next will come the investigation of the agricultural and water possibilities for which I believe we shall not have long to wait.

Apart from severely utilitarian investigations such as these there has been the visit of Miss Caton-Thompson, Miss Gardner, and Miss Stark, and one may expect that much light on the history and geology of the country will be forthcoming as a result of their researches. I do not know whether the Hadhramaut is likely to be so attractive in this regard as some people have thought in the past, for I believe that Miss Caton-Thompson is inclined to agree with an idea that I have long had that in the times of the old South Arabian kingdoms the Hadhramaut was rather on the fringe of things and that the most interesting area is probably that between Beihan and Marib.

I must not omit to mention that the Hadhramaut has twice had the honour of welcoming the Governor during the last year. On the first occasion when he opened the Al Kaf road he travelled all round the country for ten days, largely by car. He was so much entertained that he came to the conclusion that social life there was even more strenuous than in Aden. On the second occasion he brought with him Lord Dufferin, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with the honour of this visit the country may well claim to be "on the map." Lord Dufferin could only spare a day and a half, but visited Mukalla, Shihr, and Seiyun, and saw a good deal from the air.

There has been a good deal of reference to air travel in this paper, and I

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should like to emphasize the great and beneficial part the Royal Air Force OOO play in the development of the Protectorate. It would be impossible to do anything like so much as is now being done to help the people if they were not there, for it would require a much larger political staff. There are no more popular visitors in the Protectorate than the Air Force and the people are always glad to see them not only for the services they render them, such as the bringing of doctors, the giving of lifts and the carrying of letters, but, perhaps more than all these, simply for their friendly visits and for the good fellowship that results from constant contact.

DISCUSSION

Before the paper the DEPUTY PRESIDENT (Professor KENNETH MASON) said: I have to introduce to-night Mr. Harold Ingrams, the first British Resident in Mukalla. We are about to listen to an extremely interesting lecture, in the course of which we shall hear of the more beneficent side of the uses of aeroplanes. Mr. Ingrams has done great work in the Hadhramaut. I will ask him now to commence his lecture.

Mr. Ingrams then read a summary of the paper printed above, and a discussion followed.

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: I have had a somewhat unlucky day. I have done my best to persuade the wife of the lecturer to speak to us to-night, but the cause here only on the distinct understanding that she should not address us. While sitting beside her during the lecture I have again tried to persuade her to speak, but her answer is "No." However, we have with us Dr. Pike, whom Mr. Ingrams mentioned and who has travelled through the country. I will ask him to be so good as to add a word or two.

Dr. R. W. PIKE: After Mr. Ingrams' marvellous lecture there is little I can do except to confirm many of his statements. Prior to my arrival at Aden I had naturally read some of the publications on the Hadhramaut, and I got the impression that the place was somewhat dangerous; that if people left the coast and travelled inland they did so at their own risk: they survived, but did not have an altogether easy time. Actually when I got there and talked with Mr. Ingrams I found that I could go anywhere I liked.

Very shortly after my arrival in the country I learned of the legend that has grown up around Mr. Ingrams. You heard him say that one thousand murders [illegible] of the Seif'ar tribe signed a peace treaty. I understand he achieved that completely single-handed; he did not have the Royal Air Force with him; so far as I know he went to the country of the tribe armed merely with the idea that the Hadhramaut needed him and he needed the Hadhramaut. After the peace treaty was signed there were heavy rains, and prosperous crops, and everybody felt extremely grateful.

Later, he went down Wadi Hadhramaut with Mrs. Ingrams, and I understand that they were then confronted by a very serious situation which might have cost them their lives. They were exceedingly ambient about all that, but I want to point out that Mr. Ingrams has not told me story a time. Though things are getting easier now, at the beginning they certainly had a great deal of difficulty. The man who interfered with his progress was later carried away by a flood; he was the only man drowned by the flood; and that more or less impressed upon the people that Mr. Ingrams was there to stay and that he had some special powers. He now has the reputation which he has very justly earned.

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000 Everything is going along admirably and travellers can go practically anywhere they like in the country. Mr. Ingrams spoke of a few odds and ends still to be pacified, but I think that it is rapidly taking place.

I would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams for the kind hospitality that Mr. Wofford and I received. And before I sit down I ought to bring Mrs. Ingrams out of hiding. She has helped her husband most ably. I really was much impressed by what she did for him in every conceivable up-station into which she was capable of going and, moreover, when the work piles up, she goes without sleep.

Lord LAMINGTON: I happen to have been in Aden two or three years ago and I heard so much of the wonderful results obtained by Mr. Ingrams in the Hadhramaut that I would like to bear testimony to the great reputation he has in that neighbourhood. It is a wonderful stretch of country of which we have heard to-night. The political life is bound up with Aden to the west, whereas its social and commercial life is mainly to the east with India. Considering the wild rocky country so prevalent in the Hadhramaut its prosperity is extraordinary. I have flown over a portion of the Aden Protectorate to the 'Audhali tribe and from the pictures that have been shown the two areas do not seem very dissimilar. I only wish to emphasise that our lecturer has a very distinguished reputation, as a result of his achievements in the Hadhramaut in the way of investigation and in assisting to put matters on to a proper footing in that very interesting country. I am not however going to delineate anything that has come to me through hearsay evidence.

Miss E. W. GARDNER: I would like to add my testimony to that of Dr. Pike in regard to the great work Mr. Ingrams, and may I also add Mrs. Ingrams, are doing in the Hadhramaut. I found their house an open house to me, as it is indeed to everybody who visits the country. We were welcomed with the greatest hospitality; everything possible was done for us and our safety was considered. Indeed, in no part in which I have been in the east have I found travel so safe as in the Hadhramaut. If you think of the conditions which existed there until a few years ago you will realise what that statement means. The change is all due to the work done by Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams. We found their name an open sesame to us wherever we went. We were asked did we know "Ingrams" and even more in the Hadhramaut did we know "Doreen," because it is, in a way, a democratic country, and everybody is known by his or her Christian name.

Mr. Ingrams was regarded as a great rain-maker. We were told that ever since peace had come as a result of his work the rains had never failed. That was put down not to the mercy of God but directly to Mr. Ingrams. I add my tribute of appreciation of his lecture and say how much I have enjoyed it.

The PRESIDENT: We have with us to-night a representative of the Colonial Office, but again I must admit I have been unlucky. He informed me at dinner that he was coming here to learn and not to teach, so that I cannot call upon him to address us. Unless anybody else wishes to contribute to the discussion, I ask you to accord a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ingrams for an extraordinarily interesting lecture, also to his wife, the rain-makers and the peace-makers of the Hadhramaut.